

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 TRSE-00 IO-13 H-01

OIC-02 DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8747

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

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USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, BQG, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON
BERLIN AND GERMANY--ASSESSMENT AND COMMUNIQUE

REFS: (A) BONN 9252; (B) BONN 9251; (C) 77 SECTO 12008

1. THE FRG BONN GROUP REP (VON BRAUNMUEHL) INFORMED US
MAY 22 THAT HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO ADD FRG BRACKETS TO THE
UK BRACKETS IN PARAGRAPH (1) OF THE ASSESSMENT (REF A),
ALTHOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS. THE FRG HAS DECIDED
THAT THE CHANGE VON BRAUNMUEHL SUGGESTED (PARAGRAPH
2(A) OF THE COMMENT ON THE ASSESSMENT, OES NOT
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ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE FRG VIEW THAT WHILE THE
SITUATION CONCERNING ACCESS, ETC. IS CALM, THE SOVIET
PRESSURE ON TIES AND ON THE FRG'S REPRESENTATION ABROAD
OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS CONTINUES. WE THEREFORE HAVE
THE UK BRACKETING THE SENTENCE BECAUSE IT CONSIDERS THE
SITUATION DOES NOT MERIT USE OF THE WORD "TENSIONS,"
I.E. BECAUSE THE SITUATION IS BETTER, AND THE FRG

BRACKETING THE SENTENCE BECAUSE OF ITS VIEW THAT THE SITUATION IS NO BETTER.

2. THE EMBASSY REALIZES THAT THIS IS A MATTER OF SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENT, AND OBJECTIVE CRITERIAL ARE DIFFICULT TO FIND TO PROVE EITHER CASE. THE ARGUMENT WE HAVE USED IN THE BONN GROUP FOR INCLUDING THE SENTENCE IN REF A IS THAT WE CANNOT RECALL, SINCE THE TIME OF THE FEA CONTROVERSY WHEN TENSIONS WERE MARKED, A TIME WHEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS OVER BERLIN HAVE BEEN LOWER. THE LEVEL OF TENSION OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS HAS, IN OUR VIEW, BEEN LOWER THAN IN 1977, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE CONCERNS ABOUT FLAG TOURS WHICH WERE VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE LAST YEAR HAVE EASED. WE ALSO REGARD AS SIGNIFICANT THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT PROTESTED TO ALL THREE ALLIES IN CAPITALS OR IN MOSCOW DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS. THE FRG, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONSIDERS THE LEVEL OF PROTEST LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE CONTENT. LOOKING BACK TO LATE 1976, THE SOVIETS FIRST PROTESTED THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THE DIRECTLY-ELECTED EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

3. LEAVING THE SENTENCE IN THE ASSESSMENT, WITH FRG AND UK BRACKETS, WOULD ENSURE A DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE LEVEL OF SOVIET/WESTERN TENSION OVER BERLIN DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS SINCE THE POLITICAL

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DIRECTORS WOULD BE FACED WITH HAVING TO AGREE WHETHER TO REMOVE THE BRACKETS OR DELETE THE SENTENCE. HOWEVER, WE ASSUME THAT THE DISCUSSION, IF IT IS USEFUL, WILL TAKE PLACE ANYWAY AND THE DELETION OF THE SENTENCE WOULD NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DETRACT FROM THE ASSESSMENT. THIS STEP SHOULD ALSO FACILITATE PROMPT APPROVAL OF THE TEXT OF THE NAC BRIEFING.

4. VON BRAUNMUEHL HAS ALSO BRACKETED, ON INSTRUCTIONS, THE CLAUSE IN PARAGRAPH (15)(B) "BUT IT IS IMPORTANT ALSO THAT A SITUATION SHOULD BE AVOIDED IN WHICH EVERY POSSIBLE AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST IS BLOCKED BECAUSE OF THE APPLICABILITY CLAUSE." LANGUAGE CAN PROBABLY BE FOUND TO AVOID THE PROBLEM BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN THE HOPE THAT THE FRG, UK AND FRANCE CAN COME TO SOME BETTER UNDERSTANDING AS TO HOW BERLIN IS TO BE INCLUDED IN EC TREATIES WITH CEMA COUNTRIES.

5. THERE ARE TWO TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS IN REF A: IN PARAGRAPH (13) OF THE ASSESSMENT, IN THE PHRASE "THE CITY WILL IN FACT TO," "BE" SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED

FOR "TO". IN THE SAME PARAGRAPH, THERE SHOULD BE
A COMMA AFTER "DISADVANTAGE."

6. FINALLY, VON BRAUNMUEHL ALSO BRACKETED IN THE

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DRAFT COMMUNIQUE (REF B) THE PHRASE "WHILE THERE WAS
RELATIVE CALM IN AND AROUND BERLIN AND NO MAJOR
DISTURBANCE" AND PROPOSED THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE
WORDS "IN GENERAL" FOR "AS A WHOLE" IN THE SAME
SENTENCE. THE FIRST CHANGE REFLECTS BLECH'S VIEW
THAT IN VIEW OF THE PUBLIC ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE
COMMUNIQUE IN THE FRG AND BERLIN, IF POSITIVE
DEVELOPMENTS ARE TO BE MENTIONED, NEGATIVE ONES
SHOULD BE ALSO. THE FRG WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT
THE POSITIVE REFERENCE (NOW IN BRACKETS) IF THERE WERE
SPECIFIC MENTION, FOR EXAMPLE, OF DIFFICULTIES
REGARDING FRG/BERLIN TIES AND OF THE REPRESENTATION

ABROAD OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS. THE FRENCH, ON THE
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OTHER HAND, DO NOT WANT THESE SPECIFIC REFERENCES AND
WE, FOR OUR PART, DO NOT CONSIDER THEM TOTALLY
APPROPRIATE SINCE THE SITUATION HAS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY
CHANGED OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS.

7. THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL LAST YEAR'S AGREEMENT
BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS (REF C, PARAGRAPH 4)
THAT THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD INCLUDE SOME GENUINE
EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PERIOD IN QUESTION.
WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO
ACHIEVE THIS RESULT IN A MANNER SATISFACTORY TO ALL
PARTIES PRIOR TO THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING.
THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

8. ACTION REQUESTED:

(A) DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL OF DELETION OF
BRACKETED SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH (1) OF THE
ASSESSMENT.

(B) AUTHORIZATION TO AGREE TO WHATEVER
CONSENSUS, IF ANY, IS REACHED AMONG THE
THREE EC PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE BONN GROUP
REGARDING PARAGRAPH (15)(B) OF THE ASSESSMENT.

(C) DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON THE COMMUNIQUE TEXT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, STATUS OF BERLIN, COMMUNIQUES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 may 1978
Decapton Date: 01 jan 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BONN09339
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780215-0877
Format: TEL
From: BONN USEEC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780535/aaaabdaq.tel
Line Count: 204
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 37c98a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 BONN 9252, 78 BONN 9251, 77 SECTO 12008
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2620968
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NATO MINISTERIAL: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON BERLIN AND GERMANY--ASSESSMENT AND COMMUNIQUE
TAGS: PGOV, WB, BQG, NATO, EEC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/37c98a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014